

*A F T E R   D A R K N E S S :*

Japanese civilian internment in  
Australia during World War II

C H R I S T I N E   P I P E R

Doctor of Creative Arts

University of Technology, Sydney

2014

C E R T I F I C A T E   O F  
O R I G I N A L   A U T H O R S H I P

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree, nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree, except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and in the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Signed:

Date:                      May 2014

## A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

I would like to thank my supervisors, Debra Adelaide, Delia Falconer and Devleena Ghosh, for their guidance and faith in my work.

I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of: The University of Technology, Sydney; The Japan Foundation Japanese-Language Institute, Kansai; The Copyright Agency Limited; Varuna, The Writers' House; Ragdale Foundation (and the family of Alice Hayes); Virginia Center for the Creative Arts; Bundanon Trust; and the Department of Innovation, Industry, Science and Research.

I thank those who shared their time and wisdom to assist my research: Yuriko Nagata, Yasushi Torii, Shigeo Nasu, Norio Minami, Kazuyuki Kawamura, Masashi Hojo, Mary and Peter Jarzabkowski, Evelyn Suzuki, Maurice Shiosaki, Mutsumi Tsuda, Rosemary Gower, Pearl Hamaguchi, Max Scholz and the late James Sullivan. Also: Pam Oliver, Noreen Jones, Lorna Kaino, Trevor Reed, Marie-José Michel, Mayu Kanamori, Robert Cross, Robert Rechner and family, Mary Rosewarner, Ken and Heather Wilkinson, Dorothy Wise, the Broome Historical Museum, the Adelaide Migration Museum, Malcolm Thompson at the National Railway Museum, and the National Archives of Australia staff.

I am indebted to friends, family and colleagues who gave feedback on the first draft: Carlos Mora, Aditi Gouvernel, Elizabeth Cowell and my parents. Others who gave input include Kevin Maruno, Kim Jacobson, Jo Quach, Marina Gold, Patrick Boyle, Kevin O'Brien and the fiction feedback group, Samantha Chang and the Iowa Writers' Workshop summer class of 2011. Thanks to Brian Duong for making the finished product look so good.

Most of all, I am grateful for the support of my family. My mother deserves a special mention for her tireless translation work. My father and sister were early champions of my writing, and the Webster family were equally enthusiastic. My heartfelt thanks go to my partner, Kris, who gave feedback at all stages and endured my frequent absences, and returned it with patience and love. I hope it was worth the wait.

To write the scenes set at Loveday internment camp, I consulted military records held by the National Archives of Australia and the Australian War Memorial, and material written by or featuring interviews with former Japanese civilian internees. Yuriko Nagata's *Unwanted Aliens*, Susumu Shiobara's memoir in the *Journal of the Pacific Society*, and the internment diary of Miyakatsu Koike were particularly helpful. Interviews I conducted with former internees and their relatives also shed light on living conditions and the emotional experience of internment. Rosemary Hemphill's *The Master Pearler's Daughter* provided valuable insight into life in prewar Broome. For the scenes set in Japan, I referred to books and articles by witnesses and historians such as Yoko Gunji, Sheldon Harris, Hal Gold and others.

An extract from the creative project was published in *SWAMP* issue 12: <[http://www.swampwriting.com/?page\\_id=220](http://www.swampwriting.com/?page_id=220)>.

I published interviews with Mary Nakashiba, Maurice Shiosaki and Evelyn Yamashita (Exegesis Chapter One) on my research project blog: <<http://lovedayproject.com>>.

A version of 'Memory of Trauma and Conflicted Voice in *The Remains of the Day*, *Austerlitz* and *After Darkness*' (Exegesis Chapter Three) has been accepted for inclusion in the *Voice/Presence/Absence* tablet book edited by Malcolm Angelucci and Chris Caines, to be published by UTS ePress in 2014.

I have permission to use the above in this thesis.

# T A B L E   O F   C O N T E N T S

<i>vi</i>	List of images
<i>viii</i>	Abstract
	<b>Creative component</b>
<i>1</i>	<i>After Darkness</i>
	<b>Exegesis</b>
231	<i>The Gathering Light</i>
232	Introduction
235	Perspectives on Japanese Civilian Internment in Australia
273	Unearthing the Past: Silence and testimony in Japan
306	Memory of Trauma and Conflicted Voice in <i>The Remains of the Day</i> , <i>Austerlitz</i> and <i>After Darkness</i>
321	The Other Side of Silence
335	<b>Bibliography</b>

## List of images

Map of Loveday camp 14. (©Crown in right of the State of South Australia through the Department of Environment, Water and Natural Resources)	2
Japanese internees of Loveday camp 14B playing tennis, with a clubhouse they built in the background. (Australian War Memorial ID 123015)	245
Japanese internees return to Woolenook camp after a day of woodcutting. (Australian War Memorial ID 122978)	246
Japanese internees at Loveday use a celery planter to plant guayule seedlings as part of an experimental crop to produce rubber. (Australian War Memorial ID 123078)	247
Former Tatura internee Mary Nakashiba. (Photo by Christine Piper)	258
Former Tatura internee Maurice Shiosaki. (Photo by Christine Piper)	261
Former Tatura internee Evelyn Yamashita. (Courtesy of Evelyn Yamashita)	263
Former Loveday internee Jimmy Chi. (Courtesy of Evelyn Yamashita)	270
The monument to the unidentified human remains in Toyama. (Photo by Christine Piper)	273

- 275            The only remaining building of the Toyama Military Academy, which forms part of the United Church of Christ. (Photo by Christine Piper)
- 277            Yasushi Torii, president of the Association Demanding Investigation Into the Human Remains Found at the Former Army Medical College Site. (Photo by Christine Piper)
- 278            Shigeo Nasu, director of resources at the Centre for Victims of Biological Warfare. (Photo by Christine Piper)
- 280            Koeisha funeral parlour in Okubo, where the bones were kept for thirteen years while authorities decided what to do with them. (Photo by Christine Piper)
- 282            Kazuyuki Kawamura, secretary-general of the Citizens for the Investigation of World War II Issues. (Photo by Christine Piper)
- 286            Toyama Park, where the Epidemic Prevention Research Laboratory once stood. (Photo by Christine Piper)
- 291            The National Center for Global Health and Medicine. (Photo by Christine Piper)
- 296            Norio Minami, the lawyer involved in the case to prevent the cremation of the remains. (Photo by Christine Piper)
- 303            The National Institute of Infectious Diseases in Toyama, where the human remains were found. (Photo by Christine Piper)
- 305            Rear view of the monument to the unidentified human remains. The remains are stored in boxes behind the metal door. (Photo by Christine Piper)
- 324, 332, 333       Images used in Chapter Four, ‘The Other Side of Silence’, are from the researcher’s personal and family collection.

## Abstract

Traumatic experience, such as that induced by war, is often followed by long periods of silence, as individuals and communities strive to distance themselves from the pain of the past. Yet time brings a shift against what author W G Sebald termed the ‘conspiracy of silence’, with testimonies and death-bed confessions often occurring decades after events. Across its creative and theoretical components, this thesis addresses the question: How do we narrate the traumas of the past, as individuals and collectively? It considers the moral and ethical implications of silence and telling, and examines how the passage of time affects our understanding of the past.

*After Darkness* is a work of historical fiction about Japanese civilians interned in Australia and other wartime misdeeds. In 1989, retired doctor Tomokazu Ibaraki reflects on the time he was interned as an enemy alien in South Australia during World War II. While working as a doctor at a Japanese hospital in Broome, he was arrested and sent to Loveday, South Australia. As the world of the camp unfolds through the doctor’s retelling, details about his past emerge—his deep connection with the nun he trained in Broome, and a trauma in Japan that triggered the breakdown of his marriage. At camp, he befriends a troubled half-Japanese internee, and when tensions between internees escalate, the doctor’s loyalties are divided as his sense of duty conflicts with his moral integrity. *After Darkness* explores how we face the traumas of our past and find the courage to speak out.



The exegesis is divided into four chapters, with each investigating different expressions of silence in narratives about past trauma. The first highlights the gaps in historical literature about the 4301 Japanese civilians interned in Australia during World War II. I profile five former Japanese civilian internees to demonstrate their varying voices according to their place within the dominant cultural paradigm. The second chapter is a creative non-fiction essay investigating the effects of silence and testimony on the understanding of Japan's wartime past. Through interviews with members of civilian activist organisations, I explore how the accidental discovery of unidentified human remains in Shinjuku in 1989 triggered the unearthing of traumatic memories, prompting individuals to speak out and opening up a dialogue for new understanding. The third chapter examines the representation of memory of trauma in *Austerlitz*, *The Remains of the Day* and *After Darkness*. Through the gaps in narration that introduce conflict in the voice, these texts probe how and when to narrate the traumas of our past, and highlight the repercussions of postwar silence. The fourth chapter is a personal essay charting the evolution of the thesis. I consider how, through writing the thesis, I addressed the gaps and silences of my own past—namely the disjuncture arising from my peripheral perspective of my Japanese heritage.